F
589
G7E9

THE MILITARY HISTORY OF GREEN BAY

BY

WILLIAM L. EVANS

[From Proceedings of The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1899]

MADISON
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
1900

Class F589

Book .G7E9

PRESENTED BY

THE MILITARY HISTORY OF GREEN BAY

BY

WILLIAM L. EVANS

[From Proceedings of The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1899]

MADISON
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
1900

F589
G7E9

P.
Publ.

63504

THE MILITARY HISTORY OF GREEN BAY.[1]

BY WILLIAM L. EVANS.

Leaving out of consideration the traditions of inter-tribal Indian warfare, the military history of Green Bay may be said to have begun when Jean Nicolet, in October of 1634, landed at the mouth of the Fox River, and, stepping out of his canoe "with all the dignity of an ambassador, advanced slowly, discharging at the same time two small pistols, which he held in either hand."[2] Wisconsin was at this time the home of a number of small Indian tribes, driven hither evidently by the powerful Iroquois on the east and the Sioux on the west. The absence of powerful Indian nations, and the presence of lesser tribes of divergent interests, had a controlling effect upon the opening of this section to the forces of civilization.[3] Nicolet came to Green Bay with a few Huron Indians for the purpose of adjusting troubles between the Hurons and the Winnebagoes, or Puants, and the peace he seems to have established is significant of the future contact of the white man and the red at this point.

The next white visitors to Green Bay, or, as it was then called, La Baye, were Radisson and Groseilliers in 1658; but, like Nicolet, these adventurous spirits only came and went. Next came the Jesuit missionary and the French fur-trader, the former destined to make little impress on the savage, but most powerfully to effect the opening of civilization, and the latter

[1] Address delivered before the Wisconsin State Historical Convention at Green Bay, September 6, 1899.

[2] Neville and Martin, *Historic Green Bay*, p. 12.

[3] See Turner's "Fur Trade in Wisconsin."

to influence even more potently the future of the country. The *voyageur,* the *coureur de bois,* and the devoted disciples of Loyola needed little military protection from the Indian, and the English had not yet pushed into these domains of New France.

In 1665, Nicolas Perrot came to La Baye as an independent trader. In 1685, for his sterling worth, tact and good judgment in dealing with the Indians, he was made commander-in-chief at La Baye, with a commission giving him authority in a most indefinite way over the regions farther west, and also all those he might discover.[1] Under this blanket commission, Nicolas Perrot, with a mere handful of men, half soldiers, half traders, assumed military command over a region greater many times in size than France itself.

As yet there are no sources of authority from which we can determine the time of the first building of a fort at the Lower Fox. There was probably a palisaded enclosure at the mission of St. Francis, at De Pere, even in Perrot's time; but not before 1721 do we know of a fort at La Baye. At that time Charlevoix was here with M. de Montigny, and they were royally entertained at the French fort on the west bank of the Fox, half a league from its mouth.[2]

The early wars against the Fox and Sac Indians afford almost the only example of serious conflicts between the French and Indians. These tribes, unlike the Menomonees, or Folles Avoines, looked with disfavor upon the whites, and were ready to seize every opportunity to annoy the traders and hamper the fur trade. In 1716, Lieutenant de Louvigny led an attack on the Foxes. The French went from La Baye some thirty-five or forty miles up the river, and defeated the Foxes after a three-days' siege. The two expeditions of De Lignery, commandant at Michillimackinac, occurred in 1726 and 1728.[3] In

[1] Tailhan's *Perrot,* pp. 138, 303; *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* x, p. 363.

[2] *Historic Green Bay,* p. 81.

[3] *Wis. Hist. Colls.,* i, pp. 21–23; x, pp. 53, 365.

June of the former year he effected a sort of peace at La Baye with the Foxes, Sacs and Winnebagoes. The Indians appear to have wished to have a regular French officer located at this point, but it is suggested in a contemporary document that the commandant would not favor this, as it would injure his private interests.

De Lignery was again at Fort St. Francis, at the mouth of the river, on the 17th of August, 1728. The fort was then in charge of a commandant and soldiers. After pretty effectually subjugating the Foxes, temporarily at least, with his 400 French soldiers and 1,000 Iroquois Indians, De Lignery, on his return to Fort St. Francis in the same year, destroyed it, "because, being so near the enemy, it would not afford a secure retreat to the French who must be left as a garrison." This act, probably ill-advised, shows the military hold of the French to have been very insecure at this time, although the traders were carrying on extensive operations in spite of the lack of military protection.

With the coming to La Baye, about 1745, of the De Langlades, Augustin and Charles, a continuous and connected history begins. Nicolet, Marquette, Joliet, Hennepin, Perrot, Allouez, Radisson, Groseilliers, De Louvigny and De Lignery pass before us in a shadowy and picturesque unreality. The De Langlades, while not less picturesque, identified themselves with the country, in time took land, built homes, reared families, and left a lasting impress. It is very probable that the elder De Langlade was with De Lignery's expeditions to La Baye.[1] If he were not, he in any event heard of the beautiful country of the Folles Avoines. Augustin Grignon, in his "Recollections," does not remember that his grandfather, Charles de Langlade, ever told him whether or not the fort at La Baye was garrisoned when he came.[2] A list of the upper French forts in 1754 refers to La Baye and its dependencies. La Baye then

[1] "Grignon's Recollections," pp. 197, 199.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

had one officer, a sergeant, and four soldiers. Eighteen thousand dollars' worth of Indian goods were sent annually to this point, and the post afforded Messrs. Rigaud and Marin 312,000 francs for the years 1754–57. Bellin refers to the fort here in 1751, simply as "the French fort," and Palairet calls it Fort Sakisda, or Fort of the Sauks.[1]

It is interesting to note La Baye's relations to the forces that were working out world problems in the French and Indian War. Coulon de Villiers, at one time commandant at La Baye, defeated George Washington at Fort Necessity. Of Charles de Langlade's activity in that war, and of his great value to the French, more and more is coming to light. From 1752 to 1760 he was constantly on the move, recruiting Indians and Canadians at Green Bay and elsewhere, for service in the East. In July, 1755, he arrived at Fort Du Quesne with a band of Indians, French and Canadians, including his nephew, Charles Gauthier de Verville, and other residents of La Baye. On the ninth of the month they met Braddock at the Monongahela. The French force was from a thousand to fifteen hundred strong. Beaujeu was in command, but De Langlade was the moving spirit, and only after the most urgent solicitations could he persuade Beaujeu to act. Sweeping down upon the English at their meal time, they drove them back in dismay, many rushing into the river and drowning rather than meet death at the hands of the howling demons, and being found there later with their napkins still at their breasts. It is remarkable that De Langlade's part in this action has remained in such obscurity. The French gave him the honor of the victory, and an English officer in Burgoyne's army in 1777 refers to him as the one who "planned and executed the defeat of Braddock."[2] Continuing to make Green Bay his headquarters, he was frequently in the East with his lieutenants and their bands of Menomonees, Foxes, Sacs, Winnebagoes, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies. They did remarka-

[1] L. C. Draper, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 365.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 130–133.

ble work at the siege of Fort George, and in 1759 fought upon the Plains of Abraham. The next year saw the surrender of Montreal, the fall of New France, and the beginning of English dominion in Wisconsin.

It seems altogether probable that to a fear of change in customs, habits, and manner of life and trade, rather than to a fear of the mere allegiance to another power over the sea, is to be attributed the tenacity of the trader, the settler, and the Indian in the contest against the arms of England. We can imagine the melancholy and the disgust with which La Baye looked upon the collapse of New France and the coming of the English. But the result was not so disastrous to their old life as they had expected. The military history of Green Bay is not its most vital or significant history. The successive waves of civilization, French, English and American, which rolled up against the savage nations at this point, did not meet strong resistance. The Frenchmen, whether *voyageur, coureur de bois*, or established trader, became one with the Indian. They influenced and changed the savage. They made him an equal socially, and a dependent economically and industrially.

The interests of England being identical with those of France, the transfer of allegiance of the inhabitants, and the establishment of English power, were neither complicated nor troublesome. The De Langlades went to Michillimackinac in 1761, took the oath of allegiance to England, and Charles was made superintendent of Indian affairs for the Green Bay division. French subjects retained all their old civil and religious privileges. The great affairs of the world were of small moment to these people. Their object was not exploration, nor exploitation, nor the building of a state, but simply the preservation of hunting and the fur trade. Content to be ruled from Europe they had no hope nor desire for independent political existence, and outside forces acted slowly here. But they were consistent; and the Green Bay trader, whether fighting against the English and the colonies in 1760, or against the colonists

during the Revolution, or lightly shaking off the American authority in 1812 and rejoining the English, was always fighting for the old fashioned fur trade and its easy, hap-hazard mode of existence. Little law, large profits, and much rum satisfied Indian and trader. The English adopted French methods of treating the Indian.

The English of Green Bay were not the English of the seaboard. English fur companies operated along French lines, and not along the traditional English colonization lines of permanent occupation, stable government, and haughty indifference to the natives.

The surrender of Montreal in 1760 was the real ending of the French and Indian War. The treaty, however, which was to fix the territorial results of the war, by which France lost the entire Northwest, "which always caused Count de Vergennes to shudder whenever he thought of it, and that called out explosions of volcanic wrath from the first Napoleon," was not signed until 1763, at which time British military occupation of Green Bay had not only begun, but was just ending in the departure of Lieutenant Gorrell.

The English troops, under Captain Belfour, came to Green Bay on the twelfth of October, 1761, and took possession of Fort St. Francis, which they found "quite rotten, the stockade ready to fall, the houses without cover," and which they repaired and renamed Fort Edward Augustus.[1] On the fourteenth, Captain Belfour departed and left Lieut. James Gorrell in command, with a sergeant, a corporal, and fifteen privates, a French interpreter, and two English traders. The presence of these traders and Sir William Johnson's remark to Gorrell, that unless he did his best to please the Indians he had better not go, shows a purpose to protect and promote trade. Gorrell was much hampered by the scanty allowance of presents for the Indians made him by the authorities, but he ingeniously restrung and rearranged the wampum received from visiting chieftains,

[1] "Gorrell's Journal," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 26.

and presented it to others when the English supply ran low. "Nothing material happened," says Gorrell, "from this till the May ensuing. We mostly busied ourselves during the winter in repairing the fort, houses, etc."[1] It was a dismal winter at this little post, where less than a score of men were representing English power and holding Wisconsin and the West for King George.

In a council held with the chiefs of the Menomonees and Winnebagoes on May twenty-third, 1762, the mutual desire of Englishman and Indian for trade relations appears. Gorrell said to the natives with interesting naiveté: "I hope to open a passage to your hearts so that you may always speak honestly and truly * * * and that you may, like your brothers, the English, think of good things only. * * * He [the King] hath also recommended it to all his subjects who are come amongst you to trade, to bring whatever necessaries you may want, and save you the trouble of going so far yourselves; in consequence I have brought one along with me, who, you'll find will use your people well and sell everything as cheap as possible to them."[2] The Menomonees answered in promises of obedience and friendship, declaring that they "are glad to welcome English traders." Gorrell makes the surprising statement that there were dependent upon his post at La Baye for supplies, 39,100 warriors, besides women and children. In the list which he gives, however, of the numbers of the different tribes, it is to be noted that of these 30,000 were "Sous" west of the Mississippi, and "near 300 leagues off," who were in all probability very little concerned with their dependence upon Fort Edward Augustus.

During Pontiac's War the fort at Michillimackinac was captured, and Colonel Etherington taken prisoner. Through De Langlade's efforts he was rescued, but the uprising took such proportions that it was decided to abandon the West, and Gorrell was ordered to leave Fort Edward Augustus. On June twenty-

[1] "Gorrell's Journal," p. 27.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

first, 1763, the troops, with a party of Menomonee, Sac, Winnebago, and Fox Indians left the fort, and as the bateaux and canoes passed down the Fox and out into Green Bay, only four months after the treaty of Paris had given New France to England, British occupation of Green Bay ended. Joined by the remnant from Mackinac, they reached Montreal in August.

On May twentieth, 1778, Major de Peyster, British commandant at Mackinac, writes to Gen. Sir Guy Carleton that Mr. Langlade has just written him that affairs go very slowly at La Baye.[1] This seems to have been the general movement from 1763 until the close of the American Revolution. Few new traders and fewer settlers came. "At the time Carver was at Fort La Baye, September eighteenth, 1766, there was no garrison there, nor had it been kept in repair since it had been abandoned by Gorrell; a few families lived in the fort, and opposite to it on the east side of the river there were a few French settlers."[2] During the Revolution, there appears to have been no military operations in or about Green Bay, other than the work of Charles de Langlade and his nephew, Charles Gauthier de Verville, in mustering and holding in line the Western Indians to oppose the remarkable and energetic campaigns of Col. George Rogers Clark, and his shrewd and clever negotiations with the Indians. We find these two Green Bay men, for instance, on June sixth, 1778, setting out from the Bay with a band of 200 Indian and Canadian recruits.[3] And when they cannot persuade the Indians to fight for the Union jack, they do the next best thing and get them to stay at home. April twentieth, 1783, Daniel Robertson, in command at Mackinac, writes that Mr. Langlade, Jr., would immediately set out for Prairie du Chien "in order to dissuade the western Indians who assemble there from coming this length."[4] The English fully

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 97.

[2] Smith's *History of Wis.*, i, p. 145.

[3] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 110, 111.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

understood the value of these services, and made generous terms with these Green Bay men, though De Peyster wrote on June fourteenth, 1779, that they had high pay and were a burden to him;[1] and Sinclair, his successor at Mackinac, wrote in 1780 what was certainly untrue, that they were men of no understanding, application or steadiness.[2]

The British maintained that the treaty of 1783 did not determine the right to possession of the Western posts, which they continued to hold; and while Jay's treaty, in 1794, gave the colonies dominion in the West, it was scarcely more than in name. British traders had free intercourse with the savages. English fur companies controlled the trade, and until the close of the War of 1812–15 there was little to mark the change of authority at Green Bay. During that war, the Grignons, John Lawe, Jacob Franks, Langevin, Jean Vieau, and others were in active concert with Robert Dickson, the English Indian agent, and rendered effective service to the British. Green Bay was a base for supplies and Indian allies.[3]

At the close of the war, the United States determined to have something other than the mere shadowy authority heretofore exercised, and proceeded to garrison the Western posts, the possession of which was so long in dispute. In and around Green Bay there were thousands of savages, a few French, and fewer English, all bitterly antagonistic to the new order of things; the intense natural prejudice of the French and Indians against the Americans having been skilfully intensified by the designing English. The first result of this determination of the American government to protect the inhabitants, insure permanent dominion, and take to itself the fur trade profits hitherto turned into French and English channels, was the arrival in the summer of 1815 of John Bowyer, the first United States Indian Agent for the Green Bay district, and the establishment here

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp.. 135, 139.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 149
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 271–315.

of a government trading post. An interesting chapter in the economic history of Wisconsin is the attempt to control the fur trade by government factors under direct military protection, with headquarters at the fort. No business, however, was diverted from the old channels; and the new American Fur Company, with Astor as the moving spirit, came in and shrewdly followed up the old methods of direct visits to the Indians, extension of credit, and plentiful distribution of whiskey and presents. It used the old instruments, and assumed the headship and control of the forces already working.

It was not a happy crowd that saw the four vessels of American troops sail into the mouth of the Fox on the seventh of August, 1816. Their disgust was fairly well concealed, however. The French and Indians contrived to give the troops a sort of welcome, through the speech of Nat-aw-pin-daw-qua, a Winnebago chief, delivered to Colonel Bowyer on August 23, 1816, which gives an idea of what was in the Indian mind. He asks for protection for his French brothers, says that if it is the intention of the Americans to destroy the Indian, he doubts if they will be able; that when the French agent resided among them they were happy, but that the American agents have cheated them.[1]

From a letter written by the surgeon who accompanied the troops, we learn that they "sailed from Mackinac on the 23d of July, with the schooners Washington, Wayne and Mink, and the sloop Amelia, having on board Colonel Miller, of the 3d Regiment, Colonel Chambers of the Rifle, Major Gratiot of the Engineers, a detachment of Artillery under Captain Pierce, and four companies of the 3d Infantry, amounting in the whole to 500 men. We entered the mouth of the river on the 7th of August * * * the engineer has finally fixed on the position where the old French fort, La Bay, formerly stood. It will be a stockade with strong pickets, a bastion at each angle, with a piece of artillery on each, amply sufficient to beat off any In-

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, pp. 444, 445.

dian force that can be brought against it—the garrison will consist of two companies of infantry, all under the command of Colonel Chambers. * * * Everything at present bears a peaceable aspect, but the storm is murmuring at a distance, which, I am fearful, will, sooner or later, burst on us with all the accumulated horrors of savage vengeance."[1] From this date until 1841 the fort, now named Fort Howard, in honor of Gen. Benjamin Howard, was continuously garrisoned, with the exception of the time spent at Camp Smith, on the east shore.

The change to American rule was not so disastrous as was expected, and the Green Bay loyalists soon accepted the situation. By an ingenious legal fiction, these rebels who had, joyfully enough, thrown off American authority in 1812, were assumed never to have been rebels, upon taking an oath that they had been compelled to yield to the tyranny of England and its savage allies, because the protection of the American government was withdrawn. When the old private claims on both sides of the Fox River were confirmed to the settlers in 1823, at Detroit, it was necessary for each holder to have two or three neighbors swear to his loyalty to the United States, and his enforced submission to the "tyranny and caprice" of England. It is noticeable, in these confirmations, that the most aggressive in the British cause had no trouble in proving their loyalty to the United States during the struggle.[2]

Maj. Zachary Taylor, afterward president of the United States, succeeded Colonel Miller; and his daughter, Knox, who became Mrs. Jefferson Davis, was here as a child. In 1819, Colonel Joseph Lee Smith assumed command. Colonel Smith was not satisfied with the location of the fort, and in 1820 had

---

[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, pp. 441–443. This letter establishes the time of the landing of the American troops, as August 7. Being a contemporary document, it is no doubt correct. Augustin Grignon (in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 281) says it was July 16; and James H. Lockwood (*Id.*, ii., p. 104) puts it in July—both of them spoke from memory.

[2] *Amer. State Papers*, Public Lands, iv, pp. 704, 709.

it removed to the other side of the river, some three miles further up stream, and on high ground a half mile back from the river. This was at what was subsequently called Shantytown. Old residents at Green Bay were wont to say that it was John Lawe's desire to have the fort located upon his own lands, and his continual representations of it as the more desirable location, which influenced the officer rather than real military advantage. However, the garrison was back at Fort Howard in 1822; Camp Smith, which had been named in honor of the commanding officer, being abandoned. In 1821, Smith had been succeeded by Col. Ninian Pinckney, and in 1822 Col. John McNeil was in command. In 1824 Gen. Hugh Brady commanded, being succeeded the following year by Maj. William Whistler, who, in 1827, led the expedition of volunteers, regulars, and Stockbridge and Oneida Indians against Red Bird. Near the Fox-Wisconsin portage this Indian warrior surrendered to Whistler without battle, though he had previously engaged in several fierce attacks on the whites. Maj. (later General) David E. Twiggs succeeded Whistler. In 1828, Col. William Lawrence came with four companies of the Fifth infantry from Jefferson Barracks through the Fox-Wisconsin portage, not having to unload their boats, the water being unusually high that year.

During the Black Hawk War (1832) the garrison at Fort Howard was under the command of Capt. Nathan Clark. There was little exact information concerning the strength of the Indians, and absurd rumors as to their numbers and vindictive cruelty were rife. That utter dread of an Indian uprising, amounting almost to consternation, which seized the Western settlers, was felt in extreme form here, although the soldiers remained at the fort for the protection of the surrounding inhabitants. The Indian agent, George Boyd, was, however, able to get 300 Menomonees to the front under his predecessor, Col. C. S. Stambaugh, whom they had requested as a leader in the event of their being called on to fight. There were other white officers in the company, as well

as a few volunteers under Robert Irwin, Jr.[1] The war was so soon over, however, that the massacre of a fleeing band of Sacs was the only "service" of this so-called "Stambaugh expedition."

The next year, Black Hawk, now a prisoner, was in Green Bay, coming down the river with the soldiers on his tour to the East.[2] It is significant that the Americans were able at this time to lead red men into battle against red men; and though personal enmity to the Sacs may have somewhat influenced the Menomonees, it is evident that like objects and aims to the French and English had led the American to the same considerate, conciliatory, non-aggressive treatment of the Indian which was accountable for the seldom-interrupted peace of two centuries which marked the contact of red man and white about the mission, trading station, and military post at La Baye.

Gen. George M. Brooks was in command during the 30's. Bishop Jackson Kemper, in his journal, relates that in the summer of 1834 he dined at the fort with the General. Under date of July 24, he has the following entry: "Dined at Mr. Whitney's at Navarino;" besides others there were "nearly a dozen officers from the garrison in full uniform—pitcher full of lemonade and port, madeira and champagne, wines and roast pig, veal, ham, venison and veal pie—sallid—cranberry (abound here) tarts and floating islands—cheese, raisins, almonds, English walnuts and filberts. The two doctors of the fort drank no wine—have established a Soc. there which now included 80 odd on principle of total abstinence. Lieut. Clary belongs to it likewise."[3]

---

[1] E. H. Ellis, of Green Bay, and Sam. Ryan, of Appleton, are authority for the statement that the company of white volunteers were raised and commanded by Robert Irwin, Jr. It has usually been stated that they were under Alexander J. Irwin, as in Mrs. Kinzie's *Waubun* and Neville and Martin's *Historic Green Bay*. Alexander J. Irwin seems to have been a first lieutenant and acting quartermaster in the Indian company under Stambaugh. See "Boyd Papers," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, p. 279.

[2] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 226.

[3] *Ibid.*, xiv, p. 415.

Lieut. Robert E. Clary was first lieutenant in the Fifth infantry from 1833 to 1838. Randolph B. Marcy, who became inspector general of the United States army, was a second lieutenant in the same regiment, and here during the same time. His daughter Ellen became the wife of Gen. George B. McClellan. Most of the under officers at the fort, from 1820 to 1841 were West Pointers, although I believe that no West Pointer except Capt. Moses E. Merrill, who succeeded General Brooks, was ever in command.[1] Social relations between the garrison and the townspeople were most cordial, and brilliant social functions took place in the fort, at the hotels and at the residences of the better class of civilians.

The Fifth infantry went to Florida in 1841, and was subsequently in the Mexican War, our fort being ungarrisoned until 1849. At the battle of Molino del Rey, Capt. Moses E. Merrill, Martin Scott, and Kirby Smith, were killed, and Lieut. (later Colonel) William Chapman was wounded. Martin Scott is probably the most picturesque character of the American occupation. He was a man who thoroughly enjoyed life—a great hunter, a horseman, and a famous shot. Those who knew him here and at Mackinac, still delight to tell stories of his skill; of his throwing two potatoes in the air, and piercing them both with a single shot; of the coon that offered to come down from the tree when it saw Scott below; and of the duel where the generous Martin so skilfully shot away the diseased portion of his adversary's liver as to restore him to better health than he had before known. He never took aim, simply looked at an object, and fired, the butt of the gun at his hip. Rows of dog kennels lined the path to his front door, and out to the southwest

[1] The following list has been prepared by Henley W. Chapman, of Green Bay, from Cullom's *Biographical Register of the Graduates of the United States Military Academy*, and is believed to contain the name of every West Point graduate who was ever stationed at Fort Howard. Many who were cadets at that institution, but did not graduate, were at Fort Howard, and do not appear in this list. John C. Robinson, for instance, who was at the fort in 1839 as a second lieutenant, and later

of the fort was Scott's half-mile race track. In the gentler arts of floriculture and horticulture he was also noted; and flowers, shrubs, and trees transformed his own grounds into a veritable little park.

was a major general in the army, was at West Point for three years, but did not graduate.

Officers Stationed at Fort Howard, Wis., who were Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy, from 1820 to 1852.

Name.	Rank while at Fort Howard.	Years at Fort Howard.
Alexander R. Thompson	Brt -Major 6th Inf.	1826.
Hilary Brunot	1st Lt. 3d Inf.	1820-21.
Henry Smith	2d Lt. 2d Inf.	1822.
Benj. L. E. Bonneville	Lt.-Col. 4th Inf.	1851-52.
Henry H Loring	1st Lt. 3d Inf.	1820-26.
John B. F. Russell	Capt. 5th Inf.	1832-33.
Benjamin Walker	2d Lt. 3d Inf.	1822-23.
Lewis N. Morris	1st Lt. 3d Inf.	1824-26.
Wm. S. Maitland	2d Lt. 4th Art.	1820-21.
Otis Wheeler	2d Lt. 3d Inf.	1821-22; 1823-24.
Henry Brambridge	2d Lt. 3d Inf.	1821-22.
St. Clair Denny	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	1828-36.
George Wright	2d Lt. 3d Inf.	1822-24; 1826.
David Hunter	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	1832-33.
John D. Hopson	2d Lt. 3d Inf.	1823-26.
Aaron M. Wright	2d Lt. 3d Inf.	1822-23.
Henry Clark	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	1828-29.
George H. Crossman	2d Lt. 6th Inf.	1823-24.
John W. Cotton	2d Lt. 3d Inf.	1824-25.
Edmund B. Alexander	2d Lt. 3d Inf.	1825-26.
Egbert B. Birdsall	2d Lt. 3d Inf.	1825-26.
Ephraim W. Low	2d Lt. 1st Inf.	1824-25.
Alexander Johnston	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	1829-30.
Wm. Bloodgood	2d Lt. 2d Inf.	1826-28.
Timothy Paige	2d Lt. 1st Inf.	1825.
Wm. R. Montgomery	2d Lt. 3d Inf.	1826.
Gustavus Dorr	2d Lt. 6th Inf.	1826-27.
James Engle	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	1831-33.
Amos B Eaton	1st Lt. 2d Inf.	1837.
Moses E. Merrill	Capt. 5th Inf.	1832-41.
E. Kirby Smith	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	1827-29; 1832-33; 1836-37.
Alexander S. Hooe	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1828-31.
David Perkins	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1829-31.
Alexander J. Center	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1829-31.
Edgar M. Lacey	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1828-29; 1830-31.
Isaac Lynde	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	1832-37.
Robert E. Clary	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	1833-38.
James L. Thompson	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1829-32.
Amos Foster	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1831-32.
Caleb C. Sibley	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1832-36.
Camillus C. Daviess	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1830-31.
George W. Patten	1st Lt. 2d Inf.	1837.
George W. McClure	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1830-31.
Wm. Chapman	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	1833-38.
Horatio P. Van Cleve	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1831.
Charles Whittlesey	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1832.
Lorenzo Sitgreaves	2d Lt. Top. Eng.	1839-40.
Randolph B. Marcy	1st Lt 5th Inf.	1833-37.
James V. Bomford	2d Lt. 2d Inf.	1837.
Henry W. Wessells	2d Lt. 2d Inf.	1837.
Daniel Ruggles	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1836-37.
James W. Anderson	2d Lt. 2d Inf.	1837.
Wm. M. D. McKissack	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1835-36.
Marsena R. Patrick	2d Lt. 2d Inf.	1837.
Joseph H. Whipple	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1837.
Robert A. Wainwright	2d Lt. 5th Inf.	1835-36.
Samuel Whitehorn	1st Lt. 5th Inf.	1836-37; 1839-40.
Benjamin D. Forsyth	2d Lt. 4th Inf.	1849-52.
Elisha G. Marshall	2d Lt. 4th Inf.	1850-51.
Henry C. Hodges	2d Lt. 4th Inf.	1851-52.

Old settlers sometimes state that Jefferson Davis was stationed here; but this is not true, although he visited the fort, and on one occasion went deer hunting up Devil River, with Moses Hardwick. The boat was capsized, and Hardwick assisted Davis out; but he used frequently to say that if he could have peered into the future, the waters of the Little Devil River would have ended the career of the future president of the Southern Confederacy.

In the brief occupation of the fort from 1849 to 1851, Col. Francis Lee and Lieut.-Col. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, both of the Fourth regiment of infantry, were in command. From 1852 forward, the fort was without a garrison. During the War of Secession, a volunteer company was stationed there part of the time, assisting in 1863 in the enforcement of the draft, and holding drafted men there until they were forwarded to the front. Curtis R. Merrill, as provost marshal, was in charge of the draft. There was some opposition to it in the eastern portion of the county, and at one time a party of some two hundred Belgians, among whom were a number of women, came in with pitch-forks, brooms, etc., and were going to lynch Timothy O. Howe, whom they had concluded was responsible for the draft. The Senator came down town and addressed them on Pine street, where they disbanded, no serious consequences following.

The smoothing hand of time, hurried here by the enterprise of railway construction, has obliterated almost every vestige of the old fort and the natural monuments in and about it.[1] In the yards to the north of the Chicago & Northwestern railway station, however,—between the tracks and the bank of Fox River, close to the latter, and due west from Elevator A. of the W. W.

[1] For most of the matter with reference to the present remains of the old fort, its condition, and the situation of buildings in its later days, I am indebted to Thomas M. Camm and Henley W. Chapman, of Green Bay, both of whom were born in the old fort (the former in 1828 and the latter in 1837), and to James H. Elmore, who was about the fort more than any other person during its last days and at the time it was being torn down and scattered.

Cargill Co., which stands in the river on piles,—may be seen the stone foundation of the old government (or commissary's) warehouse. This building stood outside the fort stockade, some sixty feet nearer to the river, and just north from the sallyport. It had three stories above the basement. In 1862 and 1863, it was used as a warehouse by Dousman & Elmore, and was later removed by Hiram Cornell to Valentine, Nebraska, where for a time it was used as the county court house and where it was lately still standing. On the river shore a few feet to the south of this old foundation, and in front of where the sallyport used to be, there can be seen at low water the piles of stones which were in the cribs in the foundation of the fort pier. The solitary elm in the railway yards, a short distance to the north of the oil tanks, stood some forty feet from the rear or west side of the stockade, and just south of the commanding officer's quarters. In that level expanse of gravel, ties, and steel rails, with here and there little patches of smoke-begrimed grass, only these three memorials of the past help the old resident to point out and exactly locate the buildings of the fort; and unless other monuments be raised there will soon be nothing to mark the place of the first military occupation of Wisconsin, the post from which France sought to hold half a continent, and around which, as no other, are grouped the significant military facts in our history.

The most of the old stockade, about twelve feet high, consisting of timbers from ten inches to a foot square, and closely set together, with numerous loop-holes, splayed within for observation and for firing, stood until the last. This stockade and the fort buildings were always kept of a dazzling whiteness. The cemetery was at the southwest of the fort, on a sandy knoll which, however, like the surrounding country, was very low. In digging, water was reached a short distance below the surface, and soldiers used to say that they would hate to die at Fort Howard, as it was bad enough to die without being drowned afterward.

Outside the stockade, and some fifty feet to the south stood the square, stone magazine, with metal doors and roof, nothing of

which remains—if we except the key, now in the possession of James H. Elmore. This arrangement of a magazine outside the fort, has been commented on as unusual and unwise. South of this stood the hospital, which has been removed to the northeast corner of Chestnut avenue and Kellogg street, in the city of Green Bay, and is now occupied as a residence. Its eight solid wood pillars, supporting the roof of the deep porch along the entire front; its long sweep of roof running straight down to the top of the first story, broken in front by the three dormer windows of the second story, and in the rear by dormer windows and chimneys; and the panelled doors with frames of colonial effect—all these convey a fair idea of the fort's architecture. The present stanch appearance of the hospital speaks well for its material and workmanship. It was one of the largest and best of the buildings, and in the old days was the scene of many a festivity. Balls were given here by the officers, and its use was also tendered to the town "bloods" for social functions. Presumably there were no patients in those hilarious days. To the rear of this building, and detached from it, fronting on Chestnut avenue and also used as a dwelling, stands what used to be the rear portion of the hospital.

South of the hospital, and at about the point where now stands the express office of the new Chicago & Northwestern railway station, was the surgeons' quarters, occupied by Maj. Ephraim Shaylor, a veteran of the war of 1812–15, when he was in charge of the fort buildings from 1852 until its grant to the railway company. It might be mentioned that at the time the company took possession, in 1862, the fort was intact, and upon the company devolved the task of tearing down, giving away, and peddling out the several buildings. Between 1841 and 1849 also, the fort had not been garrisoned, and Major Shaylor was in charge most of this time. This officer was a rigid Presbyterian, and a nervous, fidgety man. He went with his wife one day, in the later 40's, to visit William Root, who had earlier been

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 016 098 099 0